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BROADWAY, LONDON, S.W.1

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11 August, 1970

Dear Jimmy,

I enclose reports by Special Branch and A.7 on Black Power and its implications for police. These, with the report by John Gerrard, will, I think, give you a fairly comprehensive outline of the situation.

On the continuance of the investigation of Sunday's incident I cannot say more at present than that consideration will be given within about seven days to charging all, or almost all, of the prisoners with affray. The gathering and evaluation of evidence naturally makes it difficult to be more precise at the moment.

There is one other aspect of the last incident that I propose to discuss with the Commissioner on his return: namely, the need for police to be able to reply immediately to malicious allegations couched in general terms. I think that, notwithstanding the difficulties, we should explore the possibility of improving the present rather irritating situation in which by the time the truth is known the press and the public have lost interest in it.

Yours ever

R.W.

J.H. Waddell, Esq., C.B.,
Home Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

11 August 1970

REPORT

Acting AC'A'

APPRAISAL OF THE RACIAL ASPECTS OF THE INCIDENT ON NOTTING HILL
SUB DIVISION ON SUNDAY 9 AUGUST 1970

It has been noticeable over recent months that the greatest amount of publicity has been given by the press and television to the problems of the Pakistani members of the immigrant communities and it is my firm belief, based on conversations with West Indians and information received from Divisional CLOs, that West Indian members of the more militant representative groups have felt that the problems of the West Indian are in danger of being overlooked and in order to ensure that this does not become a reality, are now making a determined effort to arouse feelings among their fellow countrymen and if possible to take violent action to obtain recognition of their cause.

All the signs are that Black Power is at the heart of all militant action by West Indian members of our community and whilst many of its members have spent some time in this country their general phraseology and slogans indicate that their philosophy is based upon the problems of the North American continent rather than the United Kingdom which does not make it readily acceptable to those West Indians who are prepared to accept and wish to raise their children in the British way of life. From sample opinions obtained from all ranks of this Force I am satisfied that the average West Indian living in the MPD, whilst aware that his housing and social standing are not equal to those of the majority of the indigenous population, is prepared to tolerate the inadequacies in the hope that the future for his children will greatly improve.

In an effort to prove that the Black Power movement in this country was a force to be reckoned with the hard core planners led by Michael X have been looking for an instance which would further their particular cause and by a system of communication one with the other on the night of 27 July 1970 they succeeded in turning what was purely a straightforward police action on Caledonian Road Section into a racial incident. In fact it was only the level headed manner of the police officer in charge and his few subordinate officers who succeeded in containing the subsequent situation at the Police Station from becoming a serious racial disturbance. The outcome of this particular incident has still to be resolved at Court.

It is known that members of the Black Power movement have in the past few months taken a particular interest in the Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W11, and this is another example of their efforts to turn a perfectly ordinary incident into one of a racial nature. The brief facts are that this restaurant was

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raided on a drugs warrant over 12 months ago and arrests were made and the offenders subsequently convicted at Court. Some 3 months ago as a result of several complaints to the Local Authority by residents regarding the insanitary conditions at the rear of the premises, police assistance was sought by the Westminster City Council to support a visit by a Health Inspector. On the occasion of this visit there appeared to be a policy of complete non co-operation by the manager and his assistants and several police officers injured and arrests made for assault on police. Since that time there have been 4 visits to the premises by police officers and a total of 10 summonses are outstanding, due for hearing at Kensington Petty Sessions on 14 August 1970 and the owner of the cafe is currently on remand for assault on police, due for hearing at Marylebone Court on 9 September 1970. There is no truth in the press reports that there is a policy of police harassment against this restaurant as all the visits of the past 3 months have been made at the instigation of the Local Authority who have refused to grant a night cafe registration certificate under the Greater London Council (GP) Act, 1968, Part VIII.

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One of the disturbing features of the demonstration and procession that took place on Sunday 9 August was the policy from the outset to provoke police officers into making some physical reaction to constant baiting not least of which was the revolting spectacle of each officer at least once having the head of a pig which was dripping with blood thrust into his face accompanied by such taunts as 'meet your brother'. This action alone in my submission shows this to be a procession called by people who are over aggressive and determined to exploit any situation to their advantage and not by people who are troubled about the social problems of some members of our community. The dignity and self control with which the police officers conducted themselves throughout is worthy of the highest praise. It is a pity that due regard was not made to this aspect when the incident was reported through the mass media.

One officer in particular was named by some members of the procession as being 'anti-black' and he is PC 90'B' Pulley who has been the object of derision and ridicule by Black Power members on a previous occasion when consideration was given to prosecuting the editors of Black Dwarf for a Criminal Libel but it was felt that as the persons responsible were 'men of straw' they would stand to gain more publicity from such an action and PC Pulley was denied the redress through the Courts.

It is of interest to note that the population of Kensington and Chelsea ('B' Division) as at June 1968 was 210,720 and the estimated coloured population in October 1969 was 40,900 made up as follows:-

34,400	West Indian
500	African
6,000	Miscellaneous

With regard to complaints for 1969 the total number of complainants against police in the MPD was 3,296 of whom 331 were coloured complainants. For 'B' Division there were 284 complaints (no separate figures for coloured people are available). In the first quarter of 1970 there were 867 complaints of whom 78 were coloured complainants and for 'B' Division there were 65 complaints (no separate figures available for coloured people).

Information is still being received in this office of visits by members of the West Indian communities in inner London who have called at police stations and stated that they have no wish to be connected with this disgraceful conduct on Sunday 9 August 1970 and the local Community Relations Committee for Kensington and Chelsea have extended an invitation to local police officers to

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attend a special meeting of their members called for later this week to consider the publication of a statement of confidence in the local police.

Whilst recognising that as the front line of defence the police service inevitably in all types of situations are vulnerable it cannot be denied that incidents of the type that took place on Sunday 9 August can do nothing but harm to police/community relations. They polarize the situation and the indigenous population adopt the attitude of despair whilst the immigrant population see it as another threat to their security.

P.C. Neivens
P.C. Neivens
Commander

"BLACK POWER" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. At the outset, it must be stressed that there are coloured organisations in this country which are not of themselves extremist, and there are extremist organisations which are not exclusively coloured. Those organisations in which the two elements are combined are fortunately few in London and are virtually confined to those wholly or mainly supporting "Black Power", for it is in the "Black Power" concept that we find the only forms of extremism which are exclusive to black people. The numerous organisations up and down the country, particularly the local council liaison committees operating under the umbrella of the government sponsored National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants (now renamed ^{Commission} Community Relations Board), all of which are fostering the general principles of racial integration and a lessening of colour prejudice, cannot be regarded as coming within the orbit of extremist organisations, even although in certain cases executive positions may be held by coloured extremists.

2. "Black Power" is a concept and a term which, has been given an exaggerated sense of importance and status out of all perspective. In this respect, the national press, radio and television can be held primarily responsible, for time and again individuals have been referred to, or introduced, as leaders of "Black Power" when in fact they were the leading personalities of small groups numbering no more than 50/60 persons, and never deserved or warranted more ambitious descriptions.

3. "Black Power", as a promotional force, is incapable of definition except by reference to the organisations owing allegiance to it. It has its birthplace and its heartland in the USA, where it burst upon the public during the seasonal outbreaks of civil disorder in the Spring of 1966. Its name was coined, so it is said, by a white man, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who saw it strictly from the white man's viewpoint as a threat to white society. Its arch-apostle was the demagogue Stokely CARMICHAEL, who spread

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its message with the fervour of an evangelist and it has since gone from strength to strength in the USA through the medium of a multiplicity of coloured organisations reflecting otherwise considerably diverging interests. What may be termed the main-stream of US "Black Power" opinion advocates four main issues:-

- 1) the establishment of a black militia on a national and local basis, similar to the US National Guard;
- 2) the accountability of police for its actions against negroes;
- 3) a similar accountability of the courts and judiciary;
- 4) the capacity to influence members of the negro community to undertake retaliatory measures and indulge in acts of selective terrorism.

4. Such thinking can probably be seen in a clearer light from virtually the last words spoken by CARMICHAEL at a public meeting on the last day of his whirlwind 9 day crusade in this country in 1967. He ended a speech as follows:-

"Coloured people have to realise they are fighting a capitalist and racialist society, and it is necessary to internationalise our struggle throughout the world, using violence if necessary in the form of guerilla action. Only complete black unity can overthrow white oppression and I fervently want to see coloured people return to their own home countries and continue the struggle for liberation, as the negroes in America were doing. It is not morality that runs the world, it is power, and the black peoples of the world are going to win in the long run."

5. With regard to the United Kingdom, it may be said that the basic principles of "Black Power" have been avidly adopted by its devotees here, although in a simplified and somewhat bastardised form. Without comparable conditions and a comparable environment, it is not possible to implant such alien ideas here without some adaptation. The "Back to Africa" concept, as advocated by CARMICHAEL and others for instance, is frankly silly in a community already containing a fair proportion of real Africans and can have little appeal to people who have already chosen to come to this country, rather than any other, in preference to their homelands. The establishment of a black militia is another notion which has not caught on, and the only retaliatory measures proposed which have not been mere hot air, have led where evidence has been forthcoming to criminal proceedings being taken against their authors as soon as the police had wind of what was going on. Terrorism has been threatened and terrorist hand-books have been reproduced and played with, but nothing has transpired to compare with the activities of the Spanish 1st May Group - which was responsible for the shooting up of the US Embassy in 1967, and the bomb explosions in the US Services Club in London, Spanish Embassy and just lately the Bilbao Bank. It is only in the spheres of police and judicial accountability that anything like "Black Power" principles have been applied, and even then the thunder has really been stolen by other organisations, black and white, which have been harassing the police for years. To a public conditioned by legislation to accept integration as a fact of life, and to a society conditioned by immigration from pre-Roman times to prepare for it, the notion of any separate development is little more than a curiosity.

6. "Black Power" in this country may be said to date from July 1967, when Stokely CARMICHAEL paid the flying visit already mentioned which had all the appearance, and something of the effect, of an evangelical crusade. His visit, however, did not lead directly to the formation of any exclusively "Black Power" organisation, although it led to the re-orientation of two coloured organisations already in existence. These, the Racial Adjustment

Action Society and the Universal Coloured People's Association, did not, as it happened, greatly benefit from his visit in the long run, although the stage was firmly set for the next act in the lives of the people immediately concerned. What his visit did achieve was to throw up a few imitators, although none of these were new men and none of them came anywhere near to approaching his political stature. Their ambitions were all in other directions than "Black Power" and their preoccupations with other interests ensured that "Black Power" in this country lacked the professionalism of its Transatlantic counterpart. There is still no one organisation representative of "Black Power", nor has there yet been a national conference on it, and the "Black Power" movement in this country, such as it is, is still one of personalities rather than of organisations.

7. Considered in this way, its impact on the immigrant population has been minimal and, inasmuch as "Black Power" is supposed to be directed against white exploitation rather than against race, its devotees here have first to sell the symptoms of that exploitation before they can sell their remedy for it. That they are hard-pressed to do. Comparatively speaking in this country there is not a coloured population with its back to the wall, fighting grinding poverty from dingy ghettos; despite what may be written from time to time about Brixton and Notting Hill; there is nowhere in this country where a black man might not live in competition with the rest of the population as is the case in the USA and no area of coloured settlement where a white man need fear to walk. As far as this country is concerned, "Black Power" is a remedy in search of a complaint and its advocates are preaching, in the main, to unbelievers.

8. The arch-disciple of "Black Power" in this country is a Trinidadian whose "slave-name" (i.e., the one he was born with) was Michael de FREITAS, since changed to Michael X and Michael ABDUL-MALIK. This creature, an exploiter of white and black alike, was earlier a second-rate imitator and disciple of the late Malcolm 'X' LITTLE, the Black Muslin leader who was

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F assassinated in New York in February 1965. From LITTLE he conceived the notion of black separatism, leading to the formation, in January 1965, of his Racial Adjustment Action Society, a small and ineffective body which enjoyed a fitful existence and helped to line his pocket until November 1967, when he went to prison for twelve months for offences against Section 6 of the Race Relations Act. On his release in July 1968, he took up with most of his old cronies and re-shaped RAAS into a new venture called the Black Eagles, which embodied, among other features, the "Black Power" concern for police accountability, suitably translated into a system of street patrols in the Notting Hill area. This was ostensibly to protect coloured people from so-called police persecution, but equally suited to protect his mobsters when engaged in cannabis trafficking, and the scheme died almost as soon as it was born. ABDUL-MALIK is, of course, a criminal villain, distinct from the political villain, and as such is unable to command the respect of the coloured community in London as a whole. At one time a rent collector for the notorious Perec RACHMAN, he has convictions for larceny, brothel-keeping, possessing cannabis, and was also charged with robbery until the complainant, rather conveniently, left the UK in a hurry, resulting in the matter being dropped. Since his release from prison in July 1968, he has been unemployed, yet he lives very well - doubtless on the peddling of soft drugs by his cronies. He has recently reformed the Racial Adjustment Action Society with offices at the "Black House" 95-107 Holloway Road, N7, premises which he also uses as living quarters for himself and other coloured persons. The "Black House" is in the process of being developed as a supermarket and cultural centre for coloured persons and should the plans reach fruition it will undoubtedly become a focal point for militants among the coloured population of London to an even greater extent than it is now.

9. Other leading coloured extremists who pay lip service to the concept of "Black Power" - such as Roy SAWH, Michael BARTLETT, Obi EGBUNA, Ajoy GHOSE and Tony SINARIS - are mentioned in Appendix 'B' to this report.

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10. Although, as has been pointed out, the concept of 'Black Power' is alien to this country, its advocates are potentially dangerous for, in an effort to make their philosophy more meaningful to the coloured community, they have set out deliberately to manufacture complaints of white oppression. This process has been characterised in particular by an intemperate anti-police campaign. During the last two years, for example, leading coloured extremists in the Camden and Islington areas have regularly reiterated allegations that police do not adequately protect coloured persons from white hooligans and they have attempted to form 'vigilante' patrols for that purpose. A more venomous aspect of this campaign has been the way in which the militants have attempted to build up the legend of "police brutality". The smallest incident between police and members of the coloured community has been exaggerated and the impression given that all police are "fascist pigs" whose one purpose in life is to persecute, harass and molest the non-white persons. The emotional hysteria and mistrust thus engendered in the coloured community led directly, of course, to the violent scenes which were enacted in the Notting Hill area on 9 August.

11. The demonstration on that day was not the first manifestation of this present anti-police feeling. It has been latent in the Brixton area for some time and it was forcibly expressed on 15 November 1969 during an incident involving a coloured Nigerian diplomat, Clement GOMWALK. He left his car unattended in the extremely busy narrow road and went shopping; a great deal of obstruction was caused, and when police officers asked him to remove the car he ignored them, and later struck one of the officers. After further incidents, the officers attempted to remove the car; GOMWALK interfered, and a large crowd of West Indians collected and attempted to rescue GOMWALK, who was removed from the scene. They attacked police and six coloured persons were arrested. GOMWALK later claimed diplomatic privilege, and eventually an apology for his behaviour was received from the Nigerian High Commission in London.

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12. The same anti-police brutality was evident on 27 July. On the evening of that day a coloured youth who was stopped in Market Road, N7, by uniformed police regarding his possession of a radio set proved extremely obstructive. During the subsequent questioning a hostile crowd of about 100 coloured persons gathered and when an attempt was made to take the youth to the police station for further enquiries a fracas ensued. Four people, including the youth in question, were arrested for assault on police and the situation was only prevented from worsening by their prompt removal to Caledonian Road Police Station. Michael Abdul MALIK called at the station a short while later with a journalist and solicitor's clerk to demand the release of the prisoners. When their demand was refused MALIK left and returned later with more than 100 coloured persons who invaded the police station clamouring for the release of the prisoners while he watched from the opposite side of the road. Damage was caused to police property and a further seven persons were arrested before the crowd was ejected to the street where they remained until dawn before dispersing. All those arrested, with the exception of a juvenile, appeared at Old Street Magistrates' Court on 28 July and were remanded on bail to appear at the same Court on various dates in October. In the meantime the question of preferring a charge of conspiracy to cause an affray is being considered by uniformed police.

13. These incidents - only three of many similar ones - undoubtedly characterise the strategy of the black separatists in this country. They are intent upon bringing about direct confrontations with police in order to sow the seeds of racial friction and thereby advance the cause of "Black Power". The organisations which are directly or indirectly concerned in the implementation of the strategy are set out in Appendix 'A' of this report.

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14. Although the results of this policy produce isolated challenges to public order, it must be stressed that the philosophy of black separatism has been largely ignored by the vast majority of coloured persons in this country. This is borne out by the fact that, after three years, there are no more than 300 convinced 'Black Power' supporters in the Metropolitan Police District; that they are dispersed in some ten small, factious groups rather than one united organisation; that no national conference has been held on the issue; and that no generally respected and acceptable leader has emerged to blend the cult with a mass movement. There is always the possibility however, that the younger generation of immigrants' children, born and bred here, will find themselves in the position, or will be persuaded that they are in the position, of being not the expatriates that their parents are but the victims of a major social disaster binding them to a new kind of economic slavery as the drudges of a white society which has been so conditioned to integration that it takes them for granted. A situation which, in essence, resembles that current in the USA. The fact that many of the participants in the demonstration on 9 August were young coloured persons is perhaps a pointer in this direction. Although MALIK undoubtedly exerts some sway over these youngsters, it is perhaps a temporary sway, for he could not be further removed from the idealistic Martin Luther KING image which is perhaps the only thing likely to blend the feelings of the coloured people in this country into a mass movement.

15. The absence of such a unifying figure as KING is not the only factor which has tended to weaken and diversify the 'Black Power' movement in this country. It has made little general impact on the coloured community because, black nationalism apart, it has no common political philosophy. Its advocates are a heterogeneous mixture of pro-Moscow communists, maoists and trotskyists and, as such, their efforts are often lost in a welter of abstruse dialectics. This has an obverse side, of course, for it has been apparent in recent months that British communists, trotskyists and maoists have been taking up the 'Black Power' cry and participating more frequently

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in demonstrations against "police brutality". They have little objective interest in black separatism, however, and are more concerned to find a suitably damaging peg upon which to hang their revolutionary creeds.

16. To sum up. For the immediate future it is unlikely, in the absence of any figure so idealistic, so dedicated and so universally respected as Martin Luther KING, that all the feelings of coloured people in this country will find expression in a mass "Black Power" movement. What is more likely is that odd, sporadic outbursts of violence over some relatively minor matter will continue when police come into contact with coloured hot-heads and that both black and white militants will do their utmost to make capital out of the situation.

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APPENDIX 'A'

"BLACK POWER" ORGANISATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. UNIVERSAL BLACK PEOPLE's IMPROVEMENT ORGANISATION

This organisation, the successor to the Notting Hill Community (Self-Help) Association (Ltd.) was formed in May 1969 as a vehicle for coloured communalism. Until the incidents on 9 August 1970 at Notting Hill there has been little action from this particular group since its inception, with the possible exception of an incident in Portobello Road, W10 on 10.7.69 when Police were severely harassed following an accident when an out-of-control Police vehicle fatally injured a coloured man.

The prime movers in the organisation are Hensal Anthony MOHIPP, Vinubhai Fakirbhai PATEL, Alicia AKBAR, Ajoy Shankar GHOSE and Maurice Hugh BROWN. Roy SAWH and Abdul MALIK also have loose connections with this organisation.

Generally speaking the group is predominantly West Indian in composition and is more aligned to a concept of Mother Africa as promoted by the North American organisations, Republic of New Africa and the African-American Repatriation Association. This group was used as a vehicle by Frank CRITCHLOW, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W11, to organise the demonstration against alleged police brutality and harassment held at Notting Hill on 9 August 1970, during the course of which violence was used against police.

2. ACTION FOR PEOPLE's JUSTICE

This organisation, formed in August 1969 by Michael J BARTLETT, a prominent member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, is designed to promote activities opposing alleged police brutality towards coloured people. Its main activities to date have been a number of minor demonstrations outside Brixton Prison.

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3. AFRICAN DESCENDANTS' ADVANCEMENT MOVEMENT

This negro separatist organisation, formed in October 1967, confines its activities to encouraging interest in modern Africa with a view to reviving African traditions and culture.

4. BLACK PANTHERS

The Black Panthers is the organisation based on straightforward black exclusivism with a minimum of political undertone, although support tends to be given to the U.C.P.A. on occasion. Obi EGBUNA used to lead this body, but all his activities have been seriously inhibited by the three-year suspended sentence imposed on him in December 1968. The Brixton chapter, led by 'Eddie' LECOINTE is now the most active group in this organisation, and joined in the demonstration against alleged police harassment on 9 August at Notting Hill.

5. BLACK PEOPLES' ALLIANCE

The Black Peoples' Alliance (B.P.A), hailed at its formation in April 1968 as being the new united front of all the immigrant organisations, appears to have met with the same problems as beset previous attempts at unification. The origins of its members are so polymorphous, with the result that their interests and aspirations are equally diverse. The prime movers, Jagmohan JOSHI and the more militant Roy SAWH, quickly fell out, resulting in the dismissal of SAWH at the beginning of 1969. The organisation has some links with the United States Black Panther Party, and some members took part in the demonstration in Grosvenor Square on 2 March 1970 to protest against imprisonment of Bobby SEALE, leader of American Black Panthers.

6. BLACK POWER PARTY

This separatist organisation was formed in February 1969 by Roy SAWH to promote activities in furtherance of his highly individual notions of racial and social exclusivism. It has shown no marked activity during the current year.

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7. BLACK WORKERS' CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

This organisation, another creation of the inventive Michael J BARTLETT, was formed early in 1969 to promote racial and social exclusivism. It involved itself in protest demonstrations during an industrial dispute concerning the dismissal of a coloured worker during the Summer of 1969, but its other activities, if any, have not been marked up to the present time.

8. THE UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLE's ASSOCIATION

The Universal Coloured People's Association remains one of the main vehicles of Black Power in this country. Although the leadership and political motivation has changed, the U.C.P.A. remains the largest and the most active coloured peoples' separatist organisation. The total membership, the vast majority of whom reside in London, is now estimated to be less than 100, but no exact figures are available.

The imprisonment of Tony SINARIS, in February 1969 for inciting persons to carry weapons at a public demonstration, and the expulsion of Harold MOORE, both of whom were sympathetic towards Maoism, the Association tended towards Trotskyism. This became particularly apparent after the election of George Anthony JOSEPH, a member of the International Marxist Group, as Treasurer. This trend towards Trotskyism and International Socialism has been reflected in the various writings published by the U.C.P.A., particularly in articles printed in "Black Power Newsletter", the organ of the U.C.P.A., which is published intermittently. During the last year the U.C.P.A. has been regularly represented at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. A demonstration was held at Brixton on 2 August 1969 in protest against alleged brutality by police. This demonstration had been advertised as a "Mass Rally", but in fact less than 50 persons, about a third of whom were under 14 years of age, attended. On 13.9.69 the U.C.P.A. organised a march from Trafalgar Square to the Home Office in protest against the detention of Robert Franklin WILLIAMS, a U.S. citizen wanted in the U.S.A. for kidnapping, who had been refused leave to

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land here. This demonstration was supported by forty persons. On 25.4.70 the U.C.P.A. demonstrated outside Arbour Square Police Station, E1, against alleged police brutality "over the last decade". About 60 persons, mostly white attended but there was no disorder.

9. UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLES' AND ARABS ASSOCIATION

The U.C.P.A.A. was the brain-child of Roy SAWH in opposition to Obi EGBUNA's U.C.P.A., but the first-named body collapsed and SAWH joined the Black People's Alliance. However, SAWH, always a militant coloured opportunist, had a serious disagreement with Jagmohan JOSHI and other leaders of the B.P.A., and in February 1969 he formed the Black People's Party - virtually a one-man-band.

10. RACIAL ADJUSTMENT ACTION SOCIETY

This organisation claims to stand for the unity and solidarity of all coloured peoples, in particular the coloured minority of Great Britain. It is led by Abdul MALIK.

It claims to have over 1,000 members in North London, mainly young coloured West Indians, but probably only about 100 actual members. Also claims to have 27 separate chapters throughout the country.

Its leading officers are:

Abdul MALIK	-	President
Herman Archibald EDWARDS	-	Welfare Officer
Vincent HYNES	-	Press Officer
Everhard BASTIEN	-	Legal adviser.

Its office is at 'The Black House', 95-101 Holloway Road, N7, and its publication is called 'The Black House'.

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APPENDIX 'B'

LEADING "BLACK POWER" PERSONALITIES
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. MALIK, Michael Abdul

© DE FREITAS, Miguel

© Michael 'X'

b 17.8.33 in Trinidad

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This man has played a prominent part in "Black Power" activities in Britain, being the founder and leading member of the Racial Adjustment Action Society, the Black Eagles and the Black Muslim Brotherhood. He was closely associated with the visit in July 1967 of Stokely CARMICHAEL, the coloured American agitator, which took the form of a crusade to implant the violent principles of "Black Power" in this country.

A former part-time rent collector for the late notorious Perec RACHMAN and a close associate of low-class criminals and prostitutes, MALIK professes to be a convert to Islam, believing in the inherent superiority of all black people and advocates violent methods to enforce this supremacy. He claims to have financial interests in the West Indies but, backed by a wealthy young financier, his main interest at present lies in the developments of the "Black House" in Holloway Road, London N1, as a community centre and supermarket for coloured people in this country. His motives, however, appear to be rooted as much in a desire for money and personal power as in his hatred of white people.

He was sentenced under section 6 of the Race Relations Act 1965 to 12 months imprisonment at Reading Borough Quarter Sessions on 9 November 1967 and additionally he has convictions for obstructing police, larceny servant, possession of drugs and permitting premises to be used as a brothel. He is currently on bail to appear at the Inner London Sessions on charges of robbery and blackmail.

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SOARES, Antonio Moushino Leo de Sousa

© SINARIS, Tony

b. 31.7.42 at Goa, India.

A militant supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association, SINARIS was associating with the maoist section of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign when he was arrested on 31 October 1968 on a charge of inciting people to carry offensive weapons during the "Autumn Offensive" of that year. At the Central Criminal Court he was later sentenced to two years imprisonment for inciting to riot and one year to run concurrently for inciting to carry offensive weapons. He was released from prison on 23 June last and has since attempted to procure arms and ammunition for the use of the Black Power movement.

EGBUNA, Obi

b 18.7.36 at Enugu in Nigeria

A leading member of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panthers, EGBUNA has been a vociferous platform speaker, who has mixed with several organisations on the extreme left of the political spectrum. In July 1968 he visited Dr Kwame NKRUMAH, the former Ghanaian politician, at Conakry, Guinea, and brought back a tape-recording of a speech on "Black Power" by NKRUMAH.

A self-professed playwright, EGBUNA has convictions for assaulting and obstructing police, insulting words, threatening behaviour and wilful damage. Additionally, at the Central Criminal Court on 10 December 1968 he was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, suspended for 3 years, on counts of uttering and conspiring to utter a writing threatening to kill police officers and of conspiring to incite persons to murder police officers.

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MARTIN, Peter

b 3.3.47 at Lagos, Nigeria

A prominent and active supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panther Movement, MARTIN was tried with Obi EGBUNA on charges of threatening and conspiring to threaten to murder police officers in December 1968, for which he was bound over in the sum of £50 for three years. However on 30 July 1969 he was arrested for insulting behaviour and on 2 December sentenced to nine months imprisonment for distributing insulting "Black Power" leaflets.

GHOSE Ajoy

b. 6.11.24

A militant and active member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, GHOSE is well-known in the Notting Hill area for his participation in local affairs. He is also connected with several pro-Chinese organisations

JAMES, John Edward @ Johnny

b 1.11.26 in Guyana

Expelled from the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1963 for his pro-Chinese beliefs, JAMES supports "Black Power" in its widest sense. He has been mainly concerned with the Caribbean Workers Movement which he founded but is also extremely active in other organisations on the extreme left.

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SAWH, Roopnarayan @ Roy

b. 11.1.34 in Guyana

An ebullient orator at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, SAWH has been deeply involved in the activities of a number of "Black Power" organisations for some years. He has convictions recorded against him for obstructing police, assault and under the Race Relations Act, 1965.

LECOINTE, Edmund

b. 16.11.41 in Jamaica

A prominent supporter of the Black Panthers and associate of Roy SAWH.

UDOH, Etukudoh David

b. 2.10.36 in Nigeria

An associate of Obi EGBUNA and apparently the principal member of the US Black Panther Solidarity Committee in the United Kingdom.

BARTLETT, Michael Joseph

b. 16.8.43 in Jamaica

A close confidant of Obi EGBUNA and Peter MARTIN, BARTLETT has taken a close interest in "Black Power" affairs and has been the S.W. London organiser of the Universal Coloured Peoples Association.

SAGAY, Sam

b. 7.8.41 in Nigeria

A former secretary of the Black Panther Movement and founder of the Dynamic Youth Movement. Associate of Obi EGBUNA.

SHERVINGTON, Andre Monteith Ovid

@ Amon

b. 12.10.23 in Guyana

An itinerant demonstrator, SHERVINGTON is extremely active in "Black Power" circles and maintains connections with a number of organisations, notably the Black Panthers, Universal Coloured People's Association and the West Indian Standing Conference.

YOUNG, Louis

b. 25.10.39 in Nigeria

A close friend of Obi EGBUNA, YOUNG is a staunch supporter of the Black Panthers.

SECRET

S. of S.

72 90

115

(1) Mr. Clift
Acy 12/8 (2) Miss Wetherby & son. 11/8
(3) Mr. John (o.n.)
(4) Mr. McElroy (in file).

answ.
the file
done
done

The attached report from New Scotland Yard is no more than preliminary and it deals mainly with the actual events of the march to and from the Mangrove Restaurant on Sunday, 9th August. An appreciation of what lies behind the march and its significance in the general context of community relations is yet to come.

Mr. Mark, at my request, is supplying:

(i) A Special Branch appreciation.
(ii) An assessment from the Yard's own community relations staff of the significance of the Notting Hill disturbance taken along with the Caledonian Road disturbance recently, and the general relationship between police and the coloured communities, especially West Indian, in London. This will include some account of the allegations made (in the Evening Standard last night and elsewhere) about a particular police officer who is said to indulge in harassment and a certain amount of violence of his own.
(iii) Further information about "charges for more serious offences" referred to at the end of Mr. Gerrard's report. These will in all probability be charges of affray.

We shall probably have the material on (i) and (ii) before the end of today; but information about the affray charges may not come so quickly.

I mentioned yesterday the bad record of Michael 'X' and you may like to see the separate note attached of his activities from Rachman times onwards. As you will no doubt have guess

Michael 'X' and Roy Sawh are exempt from deportation; so also, I assume, is Frank Critchlow, who is not known to the Immigration and Nationality Department and has therefore almost certainly been here for 10 years or more.

I shall send forward, along with the material yet to come from Mr. Mark, a note on the use of section 6 of the Race Relations Act 1965 - which is the public order provision dealing with incitement to racial hatred.

(SIGNED) J. H. WADDELL

11th August, 1970.

Copies: Sir Philip Allen
Mr. Weiler
Mr. Wright

~~Mr Smith~~

McCarten



Many thanks.
this could go on the file
D.W.

~~Mr Hildes~~

I had a word with Mr Collie, A.T. Branch, about
the police visits to the Marsone Restaurant prior
to the demonstration in August 1970.

The police have the power of entry into
restaurants etc. to detect likely places of
the p... There is no set practice, but casual
visits are made to places where trouble is
likely to arise.

In all 5 visits to the Marsone
police were requested by the Local
Authority, to accompany their Inspector. Previous
unaccompanied visits by the Inspector had
resulted in trouble.

D. McLean
23/3/72.

Office
Horseferry House
Dean Ryle St.
SW1

~~cover~~
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Secretary

I imagine Mr. Waller
(who I understand) has
the main report) would like
this Special Branch report.

It is not particularly
informative.

Anthony 11/8
F4

of the Speci-
n by "Black P

persons were
rose at the
The arrest
Court at 1
previously

sincerely,

Tom



CONFIDENTIAL

Special Branch,

New Scotland Yard,

Broadway,

LONDON, S.W.1

89

D McQueen Esq
F4 Division
Home Office
Horseferry House
Dean Ryle Street
SW1

Our reference
400/68/97

10 August 1970

Dear Mr McQueen,

1. Attached herewith is a copy of the Special Branch report dealing with a demonstration by "Black Power" supporters on Sunday 9 August.

2. It will be seen that nineteen persons were arrested as a result of a disturbance which arose at the junction of Marban Road and Portnall Road, W9. The arrested persons will appear at Marylebone Magistrates' Court at 10 am today. Only one of these arrested persons has previously come to the notice of this Branch.

Yours sincerely,

D. A. C.
D. A. C.

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Appendix to Special Branch report dated 9.8.70., concerning a demonstration and march by coloured persons against 'Police harrassment'. The following is a list of those persons arrested during this demonstration and the offences with which they were charged:-

1. Lennox FRANCE, 4 Dalgarno Gardens, W.10., a motor mechanic, born 28.11.48. in British Guiana.
Charged with 'Assault on Police' (2 Cases) Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S1 Prevention of Crimes Act 1953.
2. Cuthbert PIERRE, 107 Wornington Road, W.10., a labourer, born 3.2.53. in Dominica.
Charged with 'Threatening behaviour' Con. to S. 5, Public Order Act 1936.
3. Althea JONES-LECOINTE, 154 Barnsbury Road, N.1., a seamstress, born 9.1.45. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault occasioning actual bodily harm' (2 Cases) Con. to Sec. 47 Offences Against the Person Act 1861.
'Offensive Weapon at Public Meeting'. Con. to S. 5 Public Order Act, 1936.
4. Bernard CHARNLEY, 132 Stroud Green Road, N.4., a board man, born 12.5.48., in Reading.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act, 1964.
'Threatening behaviour'. Con. to S. 5 Public Order Act 1936.
5. Allen TYRELL, 27 Lancaster Road, W.11., a labourer, born 9.5.49. in Lewisham.
Charged with 'Possessing cannabis resin'. Con. to S.1 Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) Act 1964.
6. George ABENG, 24 Holland Park, W.11., an art dealer, born 13.5.41. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S. 1 Prevention Of Crimes Act 1953.
'Obstructing Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Wilful Damage'. Con. to S. 14 Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, as amended by the Malicious Damage Act 1964.
7. Pearl THOMAS, 44 Downes Park Road, E.8., unemployed, born 6.9.34 in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Theratening Behaviour'. Con. to S. 54(13) Met. Police Act 1839.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S.1 Prevention Of Crimes Act 1953.
8. Thomas Barry CHAPLIN, 102 Cazenove Road, N.16., a playleader, born 28.1.46. in Liverpool.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Insulting Words'. Con. to S. 54(13) Met Police Act 1839.
9. Errol PASCALL, 8 All Saints' Road, W.11., a painter, born 9.9.50. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.

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10. James RICHARDS, 34 Myrtle Road, W.3., a machine operator, born 3.9.53. in Grenada.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.

11. Edwin JENNINGS, 13 Craster Road, S.W. 2., a Hospital porter, born 10.9.48. in Jamaica.

12. Trevor FARRELL, 17 Ashmere Grove, S.W.2., Unemployed, born 3.9.50.
in Monserrat.
BOTH charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964
'Offensive Weapon at Public Meeting'. Con. to S. 4
Public Order Act 1936.

13. Anthony Carlyle INNIS, 181 Lancaster Road, W.11., a Labourer, born 27.1.47. in Trinidad

14. Cobina CUMMING, 18 Dorset Square, N.W.1., unemployed, born 28.8.42. in Hampstead.

15. Barbara BEESE, 66 Oxford Gardens, W.10., unemployed, born 2.1.46. in London.

16. Philip Alan COURTNEY, 44 Cavendish Road, N.4., a furrier, born 12.6.51. in British Guiana.

17. Audley GOOLSBY, 2 Ladbroke Grove, W.11., a musician, born 22.6.50. in Jamaica.

18. Darance LICORISH, 4A Powis Gardens, W.11., unemployed, born 5.7.51. in Trinidad.

19. Sydney WILLIAMSON, 4 Cambridge Gardens, W.10., a Photography Assistant, born 8.6.50. in Jamaica.
ALL charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S. 1 Prevention of Crimes Act 1953.

All the above-mentioned persons will appear at Marylebone Magistrates' Court at 10 a.m. on Monday 10th August 1970.

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A list of banners and slogans used during a Black Power demonstration reported in Special Branch report dated 9.8.70

BANNERS

'Calling all pigs, calling all pigs. Freak out or Get out.'

'Blacks Unite Now.'

'Black Panther Movement - Black Oppressed People all over the world are one.'

'Hands Off the Mangrove.'

'Black Power, Peoples Power.'

'We've got to get rid of the pigs.'

SLOGANS

'Shout it loud I'm Black and Proud.'

'We've got to get rid of the pigs.'

'Hands off the Mangrove.'

'What do we want - Black Power.'

'Power to the People.'

A list of banners and slogans used during a Black Power demonstration reported in Special Branch report dated 9.8.70.

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'What do we want - Black Power.'

'Power to the People.'



CONFIDENTIAL

METROPOLITAN POLICE

SPECIAL B

DPE
69 142/1/21

9th day

10, DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

PRIVATE SECRETARY

4.0

The attached communication addressed to the Prime Minister is transmitted to you to be dealt with in whatever manner is considered appropriate by the Department concerned. It refers to previous correspondence which was forwarded to you on

1. No acknowledgment has been sent from here.
2. A plain acknowledgment has been sent from here, adding that the communication has been forwarded to your Department.
3. A plain acknowledgment has been sent from here, adding that the communication is receiving attention. You should ensure that a substantive reply is sent from your Department as soon as possible.
4. A copy of the acknowledgment which has been sent from here is attached.

Date 10.8.70

CONFIDENTIAL

METROPOLITAN POLICE

(C)

Special Report }

SPECIAL BRANCH

SUBJECT Black

Power Demonstration

Reference to Papers

00/68/97

9th day of August 19.

1. This report concerns a demonstration and march by coloured persons against alleged harrassment by police which took place on Sunday, 9th August, 1970 in the Notting Hill, North Kensington and Kilburn areas. About 120 coloured persons took part, considerable violence broke out during the march and 19 persons were arrested. These will all appear at Marylebone Magistrates Court at 10a.m. on Monday, 10th August, 1970. Six uniformed constables received injuries resulting in their being admitted to hospital.

2. The demonstration was organised by Frank CRITCHLOW, a West Indian, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8, All Saints Road, W.11, in protest against alleged police discrimination towards his restaurant, after various visits and searches by police for drugs, and after having been served with a number of summonses for serving refreshments after hours without a licence. For some days previously, various posters had been displayed in the windows of the restaurant advertising the demonstration, and leaflets were distributed within the various local West Indian communities, calling for support for the demonstration against 'discriminatory police action'. It was established previously that some support had been promised by Abdul MALIK, alias Michael X, the self-styled leader of Black Power in this country, and the Brixton Chapter of the Black Panthers, headed by 'Eddie' LECOINTE. Ajoy GHOSE, Rhodon GORDON and other members of interested West Indian semi-political groups were also known to have attended pre-planning meetings for this demonstration.

3. From 2.30p.m. on 9th August, demonstrators gathered outside the Mangrove Restaurant, and at 3p.m. they were addressed briefly by Althea JONES-LECOINTE, a coloured woman (who was later arrested - see appendix 'A') and an individual, coloured, who could not be identified. JONES-LECOINTE called for a show of 'Black Power' against the 'pig police', who, she claimed, were harrassing and oppressing black people. They were using force against the coloured population, she said, and "violence must be met by violence, power must be gained in the streets".

4. At 3.10p.m., accompanied by uniformed police, the demonstrators, mainly young coloured persons, chanting slogans and carrying banners (which are listed in appendix 'C') marched to Notting Dale Police Station, which they found to be protected by a contingent of police, then continued through back streets to Notting Hill Police Station, which was similarly protected. After a brief halt on the opposite side of the road to the Police

CONFIDENTIAL

(CONT'D) Page No.2.
POLICE
Station for a session of shouting abuse at the occupants, the march continued along Laibroke Grove, Golborne Road, and across Harrow Road, into Portnall Road, W.9. At the junction of Marban Road and Portnall Road, an area predominantly occupied by coloured persons, the first incident took place. ^{to web site} thrown from the upstairs window ^{ing} uniformed police, Bricks

5. A brick was thrown from the upstairs window of a near-by house and the accompanying uniformed police, and they were then set upon by the demonstrators. Bricks, milk bottles and banners were thrown at police, and broken banner handles were used as weapons to attack individual police officers. Police reinforcements were called up, and after about a quarter of an hour of fighting, which resulted in several arrests (see appendix 'A'), a number of the demonstrators moved along Marban Road into Bravington Road, where they re-formed. They continued with their march as far as Shirland Road, where a similar series of incidents occurred, resulting in further violence when various missiles were used against police and more arrests took place. The situation remained tense for about half an hour, during which time the demonstrators were asked by senior police officers to leave. They gradually dispersed, and by 5.10 p.m. the area was clear of demonstrators.

6. It would appear most probable that the seemingly aimless march around the back streets of Ladbroke Grove and Harrow Road, was designed to lead the accompanying uniformed police as far from reinforcements and aid as possible before a pre-calculated situation led to their being attacked by the demonstrators in a mainly coloured residential area. There can be little doubt that the first incident was contrived as an excuse to attack police, and it will be seen that most of those arrested were young coloured persons who have not previously come to the notice of this Branch, their leaders carefully staying clear of involvement with police. The organisers may well have hoped for assistance from local coloured residents, but this was not forthcoming.

7. Uniformed police arrangements were entirely adequate, and reinforcements, although not openly in evidence, were readily available at all times throughout the march. Had this not been so, a more serious situation might have arisen due to the obvious violent intent of the participants.

(W. A. Hovell)

Inspector

Submitted.

Chief Inspector

Inspector

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

We, the Black People of London have called this demonstration in protest against constant police harrassment which is being carried out against us, and which is condoned by the legal system.

In particular, we are calling for an end to the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant of 8 All Saints Road, W.11., a Restuarant that serves the Black Community.

These deliberate raids, harrassments and provocations have been reported to the Home Office on many occasions. So too has the mounting list of grievances such as raids on West Indians' parties, Wedding Receptions, and other places where Black People lawfully gather.

We feel this protest is necessary as all other methods have failed to bring about any change in the manner the police have chosen to deal with Black People.

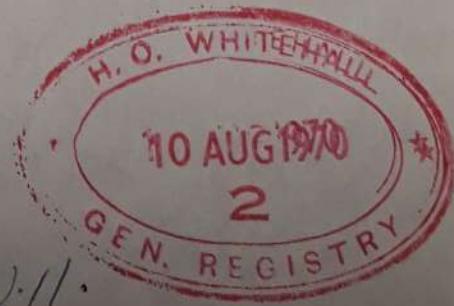
We shall continue to protest until Black People are treated with justice by the Police and the Law Courts.

Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove.

Copies have been sent to :

Home Office,
Prime Minister,
Leader of the Opposition,
High Commissioners of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados.

Issued by H. Antony McHipp
Barrister-at-Law,
c/o 8 All Saints Road, W.11.



has access to it and to produce it at any time on request.

All movements of this file must be notified to the Registry by means of the Charge Slip procedure, or noted on an approved Divisional or Branch record.

Whenever a document whether classified or not is registered to the file it must be serially numbered and indexed on the minute sheet showing the classification of the document and its serial number. In addition all SECRET documents must be listed below.

A form H.O. Est. 99 must be completed in respect of each document classified SECRET registered to the file and sent to the appropriate Registry.

When more than one copy of a SECRET document is despatched a circulation list showing the names of addressees to whom they have been sent must be kept within the file.

Serial No.	From	To	Date
91, A & B.	Mr Waddell	8 of 8.	12.8
155	Bcc 500	Mr Hilary	31.12.77
157	Bcc 500	Mr Hilary	25.1.78